6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Ranching and farming are the major economic pursuits of the people of these counties. The northern and western portions contain excellent natural grazing areas and are extensively used by both residents and outsiders for grazing of beef cattle, sheep, and horses. The eastern third of Glacier county and the greater portion of Pondera are subject to lesser amounts of rainfall than the more westerly portions but have more frost free days, and have been utilized to a greater extent for both dry and irrigation farming. Principal crops are wheat, barley, and hay.

Oil and natural gas production and refining are important industries, with the principal producing fields lying just to the east of the reservation limits. Producing wells on the reservation in both the northeast and southeast corners may be tapping these same fields. Oil is also being pumped in the northwest part of the reservation and there has been revived interest recently in exploring the potential of the western foothill strip. Oil lease money and bonus payments for leasing rights have provided a fluctuating but important prop to the local economy. There has been little manufacturing or lumbering, although the foothill strip, adjoining national forests and Glacier Park, has a lumber potential that is slowly being realized as the tribal mill in Browning increases its lumber output and new wood products industries are being attracted to the reservation.

The population, with an economic base of beef, wool, grain, and hay, also supports businesses, services, schools, churches, and government. Banking and financing institutions are available in Cut Bank, Browning, Conrad and Valier. Dependent children, and also those who are needy, aged, blind, or disabled are provided for by the county public welfare system established by state law and financed by tribal, county, state, and federal funds.

Like the other people of Glacier and Pondera counties the tribal members are citizens of the United States and of the state of Montana. They participate in national and state politics and in the county, precinct, school district, and town governments according to their places of residence. Reservation boundaries, it will be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not obliterate, change, or directly affect it. Democrats, Republicans, independents, and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

The reservation region is served by the Montana State Public Schools system. County school districts, with one or two exceptions, cross reservation lines. The public schools that have Indian pupils receive federal support under the Federal Impact Area Act (PL 874) (U.S. Statutes LXIV, 1, 1950:1100) and the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 (U.S. Statutes XLVIII, 1934:596) which in differing ways provide for payments to public schools in lieu of the taxes not received from Indian lands held in trust. Elementary schools, varying greatly in size, plant, and staff, are found in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at Browning, Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere in rural regions of the United States. Many denominations of Christian churches have followers here and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade, and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

activities in Browning invite public support.[18] Children from families of both orientations attend and participate; yet very few of the parents who turn out to watch their children perform are Indian-oriented.

The P.T.A. meetings and school commencement exercises I went to were not attended by many Indian-oriented people. No Indian-oriented were seen at two P.T.A. meetings, each attended by from fifty to sixty people. In 1960, twenty-one (over a third) of an eighth grade graduating class of sixty-seven were from identifiable Indian families, yet few Indian-oriented adults were in the audience.

The high school commencement held on the evening of the same day, differed considerably in the nature of attendance. In this instance a class of thirty-three graduating seniors included twenty-five tribal members. Eight of this number (approximately a fourth) could be identified as children from Indian-oriented families. The proportion of Indian-oriented among the seniors was smaller than for the eighth grade class, but more Indian-oriented adults were at the high school commencement, making up an estimated fifth of the audience. Even so, the largest part of those in attendance were white-oriented. Even smaller Indian-oriented attendance was reported for the preceding and following graduations.

The larger Indian attendance in 1960 may have been because the valedictorian was a full-blood boy. I had seen him dancing at the Indian social dances and at the Indian Days Celebrations, and on these occasions he wore a beaded buckskin suit that he had made and decorated himself. He was one of a very few young men who wore their hair in braids. Perhaps some of the Indian-oriented came to the commencement to see an Indian-oriented boy graduate with honors.

Attendance at the annual Easter Egg Hunts and the Fishing Derbies is more indicative. While these affairs are not comparable to an Indian Days Celebration, they are community sponsored, scheduled, recurrent and locally advertised. Children participate regardless of the orientation of their families. Perhaps these events and the previously described track meet are most comparable and the differences in attendance at each most revealing. In short, Indian-oriented parents attended the track meet but did not respond in the same way to the Egg Hunt and Fishing Derbies.

I observed the Easter Egg Hunt of 1960 and arrived too late for this event in following years. As usual it was held in an open field behind the Museum of the Plains Indian on the afternoon of Easter Sunday. The weather was much the same as it was for the track meet held one month later—cold and windy. Approximately five hundred children, from Indian, white, and white-oriented families took part. Children from the Cut Bank Boarding Dormitory were brought

[18] The description of these particular events is restricted to those held in Browning because it is the largest and most heterogeneous of the reservation communities. People of both orientations, local people and residents from the other communities, come to Browning to attend events that interest them. Attendance at similar affairs in outlying communities reflects the orientation balance of the community. Children's activities at Starr School and Heart Butte, for instance, are attended by more Indian-oriented people; similar events at Babb or East Glacier are attended almost wholly by white-oriented persons. Browning differs in that it has quite large populations of people from both orientations; selective turnout here is more significant.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

affairs that attract the Indian audience. Where the social activity contains some symbol of Indian-ness, the Indian-oriented turn out. The Indian Days Celebration, the Indian social dances, bundle openings, stick games, and song services are highly symbolic to the Indian. Consequently, the attendance at these is mainly Indian-oriented. Conversely, white-oriented interest is minimal.

Where the occasions lack continuity with Indian interests, or lack some symbolic aspect for Indian identification, the Indian-oriented fail to participate. In the areas of sociality where mixed audiences were reported, some Indian identification symbols can be recognized. The rodeo, for instance, is directly related to past Indian experience with horses and with cattle raising—a form of white economic activity at which the Indian has achieved some success.

Sports events, too, carry some of the flavor of racing, physical activity and prowess from the past, and again, and probably of more significance, these are areas in which the Indian has been able to achieve a success recognized as such by the members of the dominant society. When viewed in this light, the Easter Egg Hunt stands in sharp contrast to the children's track meet. Sports are given Indian recognition while an Egg Hunt symbolizes nothing Indian. Indian-oriented people turn out to watch their children compete in the track meet but not at the Egg Hunt.

The high school commencement appeared to attract more Indian-oriented persons than did the eighth grade graduation program, but this may be because the high school valedictorian was an Indian. He was a symbol of Indian success in a white man's game, and it was success by an Indian who practiced Indian ways.

The observed interaction patterns indicate that there are separate social groups. Examination of the values and status systems will further substantiate this relationship and give additional insight into the reasons behind the kinds of participation in community and private social affairs.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

"You won't achieve your educational goals until you teach the Indians to want what you want." The Indian-oriented value social participation, visiting, attending Pow Wows on this and other reservations, horse races, and stick games more than long and steady labor. You do not have to work endlessly if you prefer social participation to extra furniture, appliances, a lawn, and a savings account. It is difficult for persons with this attitude to win acceptance and high status within the white-oriented structure.

Wisdom, too, is valued to the degree that it contributes to the maintenance of Indian-ness. Thus knowledge of the old religion, lore, and rituals is highly regarded, even by the Indian-oriented who no longer believe in them. One informant commented, "I know I'm full-blooded and like to keep the old things alive." A woman was disappointed to hear that there would be no Sun Dance at the 1960 Indian Days Encampment:

> Indian Days aren't any good if they don't hold the Medicine Lodge. The dances don't have any meaning unless they have the Lodge. I'd take part if they had one. Even if you don't believe in it it's part of old Indian ways. You make promises to people. You have to help them, so you give things and help.

Modern knowledge is also good. But the Indian-oriented, in general, display an ambivalence in their attitudes toward education and it is difficult to isolate the many factors that inhibit Blackfeet progress in school. Among these would be the gap between home and school environments and the language problem. Children raised in homes where English is a second language do not have the reinforcing context of constant use to increase their language ability. Books and magazines, too, would not be available to be used to further develop language and reading skills. The effects of failure and fear of failure in relation to the Indians concern with self-image are also undoubtedly important. Motivation is limited by these and is not overridden by parental authority. The Indian-oriented may urge their children to attend school but, like the men the school official told about, do not order them to do so. As individuals, children have the right to make their own decisions—after they get beyond the age where the truant officer makes it for them.

The Indian-oriented leaders value the knowledge that comes from school and in general support the idea of education. The knowledge gained is valuable and necessary if the Indians are to deal successfully with the white man. Indians can combat white ways by learning from them,[18] but this goal is hard to translate into meaningful immediate objectives for the children. They accept the idea of schooling but find the subjects they study uninteresting and unrelated to any personal goals they might formulate. Many of the jobs available on the reservation do not require much schooling, so many Indian families do not provide an example of the economic returns that counsellors say follow a good education. A well-educated Indian-oriented leader expressed his thoughts on this problem as it related to college attendance:

[18] A form of antagonistic acculturation. See Devereaux and Loeb 1943:133–147.

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183 871 873 Many of our smart children have disappointed us. They didn't go ahead as they planned. Money problems was one reason, but many had no vital interest. They really didn't know what they wanted to take when they went to school. Because of this they found the courses uninteresting and discouraging.

183 186 Wisdom and knowledge, of both old and new ways, serve other ends but appear to be most highly valued when they contribute to the major goal of being Indian. Both Indian- and white-oriented people value wisdom, but the contrasting goals lead to the accenting of different realms of knowledge and the uses to which it is put.

183 571 *Generosity* is a key value of Indian-oriented persons that has survived with the least amount of reinterpretation. It is considered an important requisite to being an Indian and, as such, appears to provide the major motivation for acquiring skill and wisdom. People are expected to share with others and to help those less fortunate than themselves.

Generosity takes both private and public forms. Indian-oriented persons are hospitable and feel a responsibility to care for others that insures that the improvident, aged, disabled or sick will be provided with the minimum requirements of existence. This relatively private form of generosity is relieved somewhat by welfare and charitable sources, but often these are not enough and some people need the help of family and neighbors to make it through the winter. In some cases those on welfare may be considered to be better off than others, and their grown children turn to them for help that is seldom refused.

183 431 Public generosity covers the various "give-away" ceremonies mentioned in earlier chapters. This giving is largely a reciprocal gift exchange among peers. No strict accounting is kept of gifts and repayments, but the reciprocity is recognized and people joke about giving blankets to a visiting friend so they can get them back next year when they visit the other reservation. Private generosity by all and public display by a few are forms of generosity that are expected and are controlled ultimately by expressions of public opinion. Many people act generously and spontaneously because it is the right thing to do; others give more begrudgingly because of fear of social disapproval. A person who fails to provide what is expected is called "stingy," and undisputed stinginess causes a person to lose standing within the Indian-oriented group. People do not take chances that might start such talk. Thus the discussion completes the circle back to self-concern and the controlled expression of individualism. A white official told of an incident that sounded probable even though its authenticity could not be checked.

183 571 A woman asked him to order a young man out of her house. He had moved in with the family and was just hanging around, eating their food, and making no effort to help out. When the official suggested that she was the one to tell him to leave, she replied that she could not do that. But it would be all right if he would come and do it for her: "Only don't tell that I said for you to do it." Another man had returned to take up residence on the reservation after being away for several years. But the pressures for generosity and the compul-

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to the development of an increasingly viable and capable group of community leaders. This is my greatest source of optimism. The Blackfeet have never lacked for active and intelligent leaders and they have had years of experience in practical politics. The heartening factor has been the trend to a broader political base, increased autonomy of decision, and the greater participation by more of the community in political and social action. With each passing generation those who have taken leadership roles have had more education and more experience with the outside world than those who preceded them. Tribal members play leading roles in national Indian organizations. They have in the past and continue to serve in the state legislature and senate. There were Blackfeet at Alcatraz. More youth are going to college and some of these are talking of returning to the reservation to play a part in solving local problems. The tribal council and its committees has always provided a good training ground for leadership. To this has been added the Community Action Programs and other O.E.O. sponsored activities. The Browning Industrial Development Corporation and the Housing Authority, both provide opportunities for leadership training and participation for more people. Some of the O.E.O. programs are reminiscent of the old C.C.C. programs that provided short range income that was a help for people when they needed it, but had few long range economic benefits. The Community Action Programs, however, appeal to me most because they are involving young and old and most of them are centered in the community. The workers involved get to know their neighbors, learn of the community problems and what resources are available to help solve them. Even youngsters out cleaning up vacant lots are doing something with their neighbors for the community. They are learning about organization and practical politics—knowledge that should stand them in good stead whatever the future brings. The faults of these programs and organizations are the faults of all of us, as are the strengths. The Blackfeet are becoming increasingly able to run their own affairs with less governmental paternalism.

That last sentence raises the very sensitive issue of termination. This is a very sticky problem, too complicated to elaborate on here. I will side with those who oppose it for the following reasons. I agree with those tribal members who fear political domination by the county and state if the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the special relationships between tribe and the federal government were terminated. First, land would be lost rapidly if trust restrictions were removed. It is of course every citizen's right to buy and sell his property, but too many Indian owners still are too inexperienced in financial matters to protect their own interests in even the most honest land transactions or to benefit by converting land to cash. Secondly, much reservation land would be lost if it was removed from trust status and put on the tax rolls at a time when too few Indian owners make enough money from their land to meet taxes. Thirdly, the Indians feel that the present climate of discrimination in off-reservation communities would result in loss of services, poorer services, and unfair treatment in local and state courts is present federal and tribal programs were turned over to county and state. I think their fears are well founded.

The other side of the argument has some merit too. B.I.A. programs have often been overprotective, fostering overdependency and expectations of paternal-

The most common source of agricultural credit is the Bureau of Indian Affairs, through the Agency Credit Officer. The funds are several and are earmarked for certain kinds of uses. In each case, the total amount available is relatively small. The 1960 application for a $1,000,000 agricultural production loan to the Blackfeet Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation was approved, but at the time of the study only $100,000 had been implemented. At that time, five loan applications were being processed to cover the leased $100,000. 657 652

The repayment cattle enterprise (sheep excluded) is of special interest. The program is of long standing and involves paying back to the Tribe one heifer for each ten heifers originally received, the payment to be made within a ten-year period. For each bull that is received, three heifers must be repaid during the ten-year period. The customary ratio is one bull for each twenty-five cows. The title to the "repayment cattle" belongs to the U.S. Government until repayment is made. These cattle are not carried as property on an individual's tax assessment. 652 233 691

The official agreement covering the cattle repayment program expired in 1963. There was apparently some opposition to its being continued because of its "failure to teach business."

Education

The Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian, 1961, included in its report a section on "Education." This section is reproduced in the "Annual Report of Indian Education in Montana" and is especially recommended for reading to all who are associated with Indians or Indian problems. The statistics covering the elementary and secondary education of Blackfeet Indians living on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation are presented in Tables 22, 23 and 24. 657 871

TABLE 22. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION, 1960-61 871 872 177

School	Total enrollment	Indian enrollment
Babb #8	None	None
Browning #9	915	755
Cut Bank #15	886	115
East Glacier #50	73	38
Little Badger #50	21	21
Total	1,895	932

TABLE 23. HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION, 1960-61 871 873 177

School	Total enrollment	Indian enrollment
Browning #9	231	173
Cut Bank #15	360	19
Total	591	192

TABLE 24. FUNDING OF BLACKFEET INDIAN SCHOOLS, 1960-61

Number of meals served indigent Blackfeet Indian children	93,639
Federal funds distributed to schools on the Blackfeet Reservation	$192,078
Montana reimbursements to schools for lunches	$ 24,994

Data upon the total number of Blackfeet Indians living on the Blackfeet Reservation who are attending college are not available. The number, however, is known to be quite small. "Indian Scholarships" from the State of Montana, in a limited number, are available for Indian students attending Montana state-supported schools of higher education. The number of Blackfeet Indian students who are recipients of the above scholarships totals nine.

The number of Blackfeet Indians who are enrolled in college correspondence courses or otherwise pursuing their post-high school education is also unknown, but it is believed that the number is quite small.

Observations

The Blackfeet Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Blackfeet Tribal Council have, through the years, developed many programs to assist the agricultural development of the Reservation. Their accomplishments have been great, but much yet remains to be done.

1. The agricultural economic alternatives for the Blackfeet Indian Reservation are a great deal more limited than those existing for certain other areas in the United States. The Reservation, however, does possess certain natural advantages (excellent range land and irrigation water) which give it the potential, presently not fully utilized, of being competitively highly successful in livestock production and in dry-land small grain production. In this connection, Bulletins 522, 542 and 555 of the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station are required reading for anyone seriously interested in Blackfeet Indian agriculture.

2. Relatively few Blackfeet Indians are presently interested in dry-land small grain production. It is estimated that 90 percent of the wheat and barley produced on the Reservation is raised by non-Indians.

3. The Blackfeet Indians are very interested in competitive, commercial livestock production.

4. It is well recognized by individual Blackfeet Indians, the Blackfeet Tribal Council, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Montana State College that, under existing conditions, a herd of 150 cattle is the minimum number to form a competitive economic unit.

5. Securing adequate financing for an economic herd of cattle is a serious, limiting factor in the development of cattle ranching by the Blackfeet Indians.

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665 it. Democrats, Republicans, Independents and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

Education

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873 in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at Browning,
368 Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

Religious and Other Organizations

794 Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere in rural regions of the United States and need little discussion. Many denominations of Christian churches have followers
575 here, and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area. The particular organizations active on the reservation will be discussed later.

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[38] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1950, LXIV, Part 1, p. 1100.

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184 class of sixty-seven were from identifiable Indian families, yet few
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The larger Indian attendance in 1960 may have been because the
[292] class valedictorian for that year was a full-blood boy. He had been seen dancing at the Indian social dances and at the Indian Days Celebrations, and on these occasions he wore a beaded buckskin suit
[302] that he had made and decorated himself. He was one of a very few young men who wore their hair in braids. The Indian-oriented came to the commencement to see an Indian-oriented boy graduate with honors.

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ried a young warrior named Scraping White, who already had one wife and three children. When Scraping White's oldest daughter saw her new little brother she told her mother, "I like my new brother—I want his name to be Napi." So he was called Napi, "Old Man." Many years later he took the name of his original father, Wolf Old Man. On the tribe records his name is Willie Scraping White, and it was by this name that he was called during the three years that he attended the Calgary Industrial School in the 1890s.

"No, I didn't get much schooling at that place," he once told us, "because the instructors thought that a fellow my size would be more use to them out in the fields than in the classroom. I'm glad," he said with a smile, "because I liked the outdoors much better than the insides of buildings." The Old Man speaks only very broken English and he never did learn to read or write. But he did become the school's star football player. He used to tuck his long braids up under his helmet. "When I came back to the reserve the kids wanted me to teach them how to play, and the girls sure admired me when I passed the ball a long ways," he said with a combined look of pride and embarrassment. He was usually too modest to tell of his personal accomplishments. Unfortunately, several accidents while playing football and ice hockey weakened his knees. "Better to have weak knees than a weak mind," he sometimes said to console himself. After three years in the school's fields he finally decided to ask how much longer he would have to stay. "I never knew that I was allowed to ask the principal such a question," he said, "so I felt pretty foolish when he told me that I was free to go whenever I wanted. I packed up pretty fast and left." He was also one of the first students at St. Paul's Anglican School, on the Blood Reserve, though he did not stay long.

The Old Man learned much about our Old Ways from his stepfather, Scraping White, who was Owner of many sacred Medicines and knew

551 [553] [874] 974 [191] [212] [526] [302] [554] [797] [873] 115 793

[p.13-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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when there is a death in the Owner's family. Often a former Owner takes the Bundle back and later has it transferred to himself.) So Steve Oka sold the Bundle to Hugh Dempsey for three hundred dollars. Dempsey took it for the Blackfoot collection in the then-new Glenbow Museum in Calgary.

The Bundle's former Owner, Mike Eagle Speaker, was one of the first from the Blood Reserve to obtain a college degree. He once told me that he originally got the Bundle because of a vow made during a time of need in his family. Because the Power of the Bundle helped his family overcome their trial, Mike felt he had been repaid for his material investment, and for that reason had given the Pipe to its next Owner, accepting no payments.

Mokakin said that this Pipe originally came from the North Blackfoot People. The first Blood man to own it was Sun Calf, a partner of old Red Crow. After him the Owners were Hungry Crow; Rides-at-the-Door (the holy woman and her late husband); Gordon Bird; Morning Bird; Camoose Bottle; Joe Eagle Ribs; Mike Eagle Speaker; and then Steve Oka.

WILLIE MILLS'S PIPE

One of our former Medicine Pipe Bundles is listed in the collection of the Provincial Museum as the "Willie Mills Pipe." Mills was the grandson of the Negro interpreter, Dave Mills (Young Scabby Bull). Like Steve Oka, Mills sold his Pipe while mourning the loss of his wife. He sold it in 1966 to the white man of the Alberta Provincial Museum.

Mokakin and Atsitsina, both of whom had sacred Pipes at that time, told me that they used to dread this white man's visits. Mokakin said, "That guy, he never takes no for an answer. He come back and he come back, no matter what I tell him, he always come in with his big smile. Even nobody trusts him with it. He smile, and